

THIRD
ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BOARD OF MANAGERS

OF THE

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

PRESENTED JAN. 21, 1835.

B O S T O N :
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NO. 31, CORNHILL.

1835.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
AT ITS
THIRD ANNUAL MEETING.

The Third Annual Meeting of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society was held at Julien Hall, on Wednesday evening, January 21, 1835, at 7 o'clock.

The President being absent, Rev. Prof. Follen, one of the Vice Presidents, took the chair.

Before the hour of meeting had fully arrived, the Hall was crowded to suffocation, and hundreds of persons who came to the door, were forced to retire without being able to enter.

A letter from Rev. Mr. Wells, first Vice President of the Society, expressive of his ardent desire for the continued prosperity of the cause, and disappointment that he was not able, on account of indisposition, to attend the meeting, was read by the Secretary.

The meeting was opened with prayer by the Rev. William C. Munroe, late of Portland, Me.

The Report of the Board of Managers was read by S. E. Sewall, Corresponding Secretary.

On motion of Rev. Cyrus P. Grosvenor, Agent of the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society, seconded by Rev. Baron Stow of Boston,

Resolved, That the Report be accepted, and printed under the direction of the Board of Managers.

On motion of Rev. Amos A. Phelps, General Agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, seconded by George Thompson, Esq.,

Resolved, That it is essential to the progress of the Anti-Slavery cause, that its friends should understand and maintain its great distinctive principles, in all their purity and strength.

Interesting addresses were made by the gentlemen who moved and seconded the above resolutions, which were listened to with deep attention.

Several hymns suited to the occasion, were sung by the Colored Juvenile Choir, under the direction of Miss Paul.

Voted, That this meeting be adjourned for one week.

Wednesday, January 28.—The Society met pursuant to the adjournment, at the Society's Hall, over 46, Washington-street, at 8 o'clock, P. M.

In the absence of the President and Vice Presidents, Amasa Walker, Esq. was called to the chair.

Voted, To amend the third article of the Constitution, by inserting after the words, '*annual subscription*,' '*one dollar*,' instead of '*two dollars*.'

The following gentlemen were elected officers of the Society for the present year :—

PRESIDENT.

JOSEPH SOUTHWICK, Danvers.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

REV. E. M. P. WELLS, Boston.

REV. MOSES THACHER, N. Wrentham, Mass.

REV. AMOS A. PHELPS.

DAVID L. CHILD, Boston.

PROF. CHARLES FOLLEN, Cambridge.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Boston.

JOHN G. WHITTIER, Haverhill, Mass.

REV. O. SCOTT, Springfield, Mass.

WILLIAM OAKES, Ipswich, Mass.

REV. PARON STOW, Boston.

Corresponding Secretary—SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Boston.

Recording Secretary—BENJAMIN C. BACON, Boston.

Treasurer—JAMES C. ODIORNE, Boston.

Auditor—JOHN S. WILLIAMS, Boston.

COUNSELLORS.

ELLIS GRAY LORING,

DRURY FAIRBANKS,

ISAAC KNAPP,

S. G. SHIPLEY,

JOHN R. CAMBELL,

ABNER FORBES,

JOSHUA EASTON,

JOHN E. FULLER,

C. C. BARRY,

CHARLES DREW.

Voted, That this meeting be adjourned for one week.

Wednesday, Feb. 4.—The Society met at their Hall, on Wednesday evening, Feb. 4th, pursuant to the adjournment.

Amasa Walker in the chair.

Voted, To amend the 13th article of the Constitution, by striking out the words '*one month*.'

Voted, To amend the 1st article, by inserting the word '*Massachusetts*,' instead of the words '*New-England*.'

Adjourned sine die.

REPORT.

In consequence of the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of the design contemplated to form State Societies in the New-England States, a design which has already been accomplished in Maine, New-Hampshire, and Vermont, the operations of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society during the past year, have been very much confined to Massachusetts. And hereafter, it will be only a State Society.*

Though the comparative importance of this association, has, owing to the causes just mentioned, been, in some measure diminished, the zeal, activity, and numbers of its friends, have not been at all impaired, while the principles on which it is founded, have spread through the country with unexampled rapidity. Every day, and almost every hour, has brought intelligence of new converts to them, in every part of our land.

Some additions have been made to the Wilberforce Library, during the year. This institution has already proved very convenient to persons prosecuting inquiries on the subject of slavery, and it is believed will hereafter become still more useful.

About seven months ago, the Society hired the large hall over No. 46, Washington-Street, Boston. This hall is now divided into two apartments, one of which is used as a lecture room, and the other as the Society's office, and a depository for anti-slavery books, tracts, and other articles. The Society has employed Mr. Benjamin C. Bacon to take charge of the Rooms, and act as general agent of the Society. This gentleman has performed the laborious duties of his office, including an extensive correspondence, with great zeal and assiduity. The sale

* Since the Report was read, the name of the association has been changed to that of the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society*.

of anti-slavery publications, has been very much promoted by this establishment ; and the demand for them appears to be constantly increasing. The Society's office has, as was expected, proved a centre of attraction for abolitionists visiting the city, from all parts of the country ; and has thus extended the intercourse of the friends of liberty.

It would be most ungrateful, not to acknowledge the aid which females have every where given to the cause in which we are engaged. This Society is especially indebted to a number of ladies, who held a fair in Boston in December last, for its benefit. The amount of sales at this fair was about \$360. The money brought into the Society's Treasury from this source, proved a welcome supply to its exhausted finances. The taste and ingenuity of many of the articles sold on this occasion, and the whole arrangement of the exhibition, afforded the highest gratification to those who visited the Hall. Few could have gone there without having their hearts touched with fresh compassion for the slave, and a new zeal to vindicate his rights. But the good produced by the fair, is not merely momentary. Many of the articles purchased on the occasion, will probably serve as perpetual mementoes to the owners and their friends, of their duties to their oppressed countrymen.

In Massachusetts, anti-slavery principles are becoming prominent objects of public attention. Several county, and several town societies have been formed during the year. In other States, the cause has met with similar success. The following is an imperfect probably very imperfect, list of new Anti-Slavery Societies.

Maine.—Society ; Portland Young Men's ; North Yarmouth.

New-Hampshire.—State Society ; Concord (2—male and female) ; Windham ; Campton ; Great Falls.

Vermont.—State Society ; Ferrisburgh ; Ryegate and Barre ; Starksborough ; Lincoln.

Massachusetts.—Salem Female ; Lowell (2—male and female) ; Haverhill (2—male and female) ; South Reading ; Holden ; Newburyport (2—male and female) ; Cambridge ; Sandwich ; Scituate ; Middlesex County Society ; Millbury ; Plymouth ; Woburn ; Essex County ; Ashburnham ; New-Bedford ; Plymouth County.

Connecticut.—Brooklyn Female ; Norwich Female ; Weathersfield.

New-York.—Rochester (colored) ; Whitestown ; Auburn Theological Seminary ; Hamilton Institute ; Utica ; Peterborough ; New-York (City) Young Men's.

Pennsylvania.—Clarkson Anti-Slavery Association, Lancaster and Chester County.

Ohio.—Columbiana ; Lexington ; Munroe County ; New Lisbon County ; Ashtabula County ; Zanesville ; Western Reserve ; Nelson.

Michigan Territory.—Farmington.

Total—53.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, in this connection, that the exertions and success of the American Anti-Slavery Society, have surpassed even the glowing auguries of its most sanguine supporters.

While new friends of the colored race are thus springing up in every quarter, no old ones desert them. It is indeed one of the strongest marks of the truth and importance of our opinions, that those who have once adopted them in earnest, rarely, if ever, recede from them, but, on the contrary, usually grow more and more zealous in their support.

A convention of delegates from Anti-Slavery Societies in New-England, was held in Boston in May last. The proceedings of this Convention, having been published in a pamphlet form, it is only necessary to observe in this place, that the proceedings of this body, have apparently given a great impulse to the anti-slavery cause throughout New-England.

The subject of a Manual Labor School, to be open to persons of color, was brought before this Convention. Some subscriptions were obtained for the purpose. We trust that at some not very distant date, such a Seminary will be opened in New-England. The Academy at Canaan, in New-Hampshire, now receives colored youths on equal terms with white.

The last year has been marked, not only by the rapid spread of anti-slavery principles, but equally, by a violent and ferocious opposition to them. The peaceable and orderly meetings of our friends, have been interrupted in many places by the assaults of the populace. In a number of instances, the rioters have

not been contented with disturbing meetings, but have also attacked and destroyed property.

In New-York, savage mobs interrupted two meetings of abolitionists on July 4th, and among other acts of violence, on successive nights, sacked the house of Mr. Lewis Tappan, and destroyed his furniture ; attacked and seriously injured the house of Dr. Cox ; merely to punish them for their obnoxious opinions. The rioters also attacked and damaged several churches in the same place, sacked St. Phillips' Episcopal Church in Centre-street, demolished the African school house in Orange-street, and twelve adjacent houses, principally occupied by colored people. For a number of nights, the mob seemed to be masters of the city.

In Philadelphia, the riots were more destructive than even those in New-York. For several successive nights in last August, the entire command of the city was, as in New-York, in the hands of an infuriated multitude. In the course of this time, the rioters attacked and destroyed the houses and furniture of many unoffending people of color, and treated their victims with brutal inhumanity. Forty-four houses, and their furniture, and two churches, were either destroyed or damaged during these riots.

Various riots and outrages of a similar character, have been committed in other places, upon the unfortunate colored race, and their supporters. But time would fail, should it be attempted, to enumerate them all.

It is with great regret that the managers record that an attack was made on the house of Miss Crandall, in Canterbury, by some heartless ruffians in the night, in October last, who so much injured the building, that it was thought expedient to discontinue the school, rather than to expose her pupils to renewed outrages.

The frantic and barbarous proceedings to which we have adverted, though boldly reprobated in some newspapers, have in others been met with so feeble a tone of remonstrance, as to amount to encouragement ; while some have gone so far as explicitly to recommend force to punish such persons, as have dared to advocate unpopular doctrines too freely and too loudly.

The friends of slavery are much deluded, if they suppose that the opinions of its opponents can be extinguished by per-

secution. They ought to know that the love of truth and justice, in generous minds, is only kindled by opposition. In fact, as might have been expected, the proscriptive measures pursued against abolitionists, so far from diminishing, have multiplied their numbers, and filled the whole body with the invincible fortitude and resolution of martyrs.

While in the North, the opposition to anti-slavery principles has become thus virulent, they have been widely spreading both here and at the South and West.

During the last winter, a debate was carried on by the students of the Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, on the following questions :

‘ 1. Ought the people of the slaveholding States to abolish slavery immediately ?

‘ 2. Are the doctrines, tendencies, and measures of the American Colonization Society, and the influence of its principal supporters, such as to render it worthy of the patronage of the Christian public ?’

After a debate of nine evenings, every vote was in favor of the affirmative of the first question, four or five of those present, however, excusing themselves from voting at all.

At the end of another debate of the same length, the second question was decided in the negative, with only one dissenting voice. Four or five persons declined voting at all.

The result of this debate is equally gratifying and surprising, when it is recollected, that eleven of the students were born and brought up in slave states, every one of whom adopted anti-slavery principles. The readiness with which young men, whose early prejudices were probably strongly enlisted in favor of the slave system, have thus been led to abandon them, affords unanswerable evidence, if any were wanting, that the hearts of slaveholders are accessible to the pleadings of justice and humanity.

The Trustees of the Seminary, taking the alarm at the rapid spread of truth among the students, and yielding to the influence of popular clamor in the vicinity, on Oct. 6, 1834, adopted the following resolutions, rules, and orders.

Resolved, That this Board approve and adopt the Report of the Subcommittee of the Executive Committee, ‘relative to the proceedings among the students on the subject of slavery,’ and the proceedings of the Executive Committee thereon, of the 20th of August, 1834.

STANDING RULES. 'Rule 1.—Societies or Associations of the students shall not be organized in the Seminary, without the approbation of the Faculty: and where such organization shall be desired, the Constitution and the object and general regulations of such Society, shall be submitted to the Faculty for their consideration.

'Rule 2. The students shall not hold general meetings among themselves, other than those of a religious or devotional character, or for purposes associated with the course of studies; nor deliver public addresses, or lectures, at the Seminary or elsewhere, in term time, other than those connected with ordinary religious exercises; nor make public addresses or communications to the students when assembled at their meals, or on other ordinary occasions: nor be absent from the Seminary in term time—without the approbation of the Faculty, or of such person as they shall designate for that purpose.'

ORDERS. 'Order 1.—Whereas, the Anti-Slavery Society and the Colonization Society lately organized in the Seminary, are considered by this Board, in the present state of public excitement on the subject of slavery, as tending to enlist the students in controversies foreign to their studies, and to stir up among themselves and in the community, unfriendly feelings and useless hostilities, thereby counteracting the great objects of the institution: therefore, ordered, that the students be required to discontinue those Societies in the Seminary.

'Order 2.—Ordered that the Executive Committee have power to dismiss any student from the Seminary, when they shall think it necessary so to do; and to make any rules and regulations for the admission of students, or for the government and management of the Seminary, or any of its concerns, not inconsistent with the charter and the regulations of this Board; which they may deem expedient.'

On these tyrannical and inquisitorial proceedings, little comment is necessary. It is manifest, that the object of these rules and orders was, to prevent, as far as possible, free discussion on the subject of slavery. The fathers of an important seminary, established for the express purpose of disseminating Christian truth, have boldly endeavored to stop all inquiry on some of the most serious questions of religion and morals. They have shamelessly dared to say to young men, who are preparing for the gospel ministry, 'It is no part of your business to examine what course a christian minister ought to adopt in respect to slaveholding'—the crying sin of the age and nation.

How wonderful is the uniformity in the proceedings of tyranny! Associations, public meetings, and public addresses, are always special objects of fear to arbitrary governments. It has been so in Europe. And it is remarkable, that public meetings of slaves, and preaching to them, are also denounced by law and public opinion in the slave States.

The Trustees of Lane Seminary, however, have found that they were not dealing with slaves. They thought, probably, that they were putting out a dangerous flame in their institution,

but they have done it by scattering the burning brands far and wide over the country. Thus they may, perhaps, prove the unwilling instruments in the hands of Providence, of aiding to kindle a moral conflagration in our country, which neither trustees of Seminaries, nor even governors and legislatures, will be able to extinguish.

The arbitrary enactments just recited, have been so far successful, as to lead nearly all the students to leave the Theological Class, and to prevent many others from entering it. It is said that the Theological Class last year consisted of forty, only two of whom had entered the fourth day after the commencement of the term in October. In the Literary department, the diminution had been similar. Out of sixty of last year, only five had entered.

It is to be hoped, that few young men will be found willing to enter an institution, in which they are debarred the liberty of thought and speech on one of the most momentous subjects which can come before them.

The young men, who have thus been driven from their studies, published during the last month, a statement of 'the reasons which induced the students in Lane Seminary, to dissolve their connection with that Institution.' It is signed by fifty-one persons. Others who agreed in opinion with the document were at such a distance, that their names could not be affixed to it. It is written with great ability, and unanswerable force of argument.

The Faculty have also published their statement respecting the difficulties in Lane Seminary.

The students of Lane Seminary are far from being alone in their opposition to slavery. The young men in a considerable number of Colleges and Theological Seminaries, have engaged with great ardor in the same cause. When the influence which these young men, who, in the usual course of things, will become lights and guides of the people, will have upon society, is considered, we may reasonably hope that the time is not far distant, when the whole American people will become sensible of their duty to the colored people of the country.

The increasing interest felt in every part of the United States for the oppressed, is also proved by the proceedings of various ecclesiastical bodies.

The Synod of Kentucky, at a meeting held at Danville, Oct. 8, spent the greater part of several days in discussing the subject of slavery. They finally adopted a paper, of which the following is the introduction :—

'This synod, believing that the system of absolute and hereditary domestic slavery, as it exists among the members of our communion, is repugnant to the principles of our holy religion, as revealed in the sacred scriptures, and that the continuance of the system, any longer than is necessary to prepare for its safe and beneficial termination, is sinful, feel it their duty earnestly to recommend to all presbyteries, church sessions, and people under their care, to commence immediate preparation for the termination of slavery among us ; so that this evil may cease with the present generation ; and the future offspring of our slaves may be free.'

The New-York Evangelist, from which this account is borrowed, states that the synod then proceeded to advise 'that emancipation be universally extended to all slaves hereafter born ;' but without discouraging that of others 'whose condition would be greatly improved by emancipation,' or who 'might be prepared for freedom by the use of remarkable efforts.' Far as these opinions of the Synod of Kentucky are from being sound, they are remarkable as coming from a slave state, and exhibit a growing improvement in public sentiment.

The Synod of Illinois, at a meeting held in Springfield, in that State, in October last, after discussion unanimously adopted the following resolution :—

Resolved, That this Synod do most earnestly recommend to the churches under our care, the use of all proper means to effect the speedy emancipation of the slaves in these United States, and especially in the Presbyterian Church. Synod do consider the existing system of holding in involuntary slavery their fellow men, as a crime of no ordinary character, against which they do hereby most earnestly and solemnly testify.

Various other religious bodies have in a similar manner, during the year, published their testimony against slavery.

During the past year, many strong indications have been given, that the desire to abolish slavery is becoming more active and extensive in the Western slave states. A few of them will be mentioned.

A society has been formed in Kentucky, it is believed within the year, called 'The Kentucky Society for the gradual relief of the State from slavery.' We regard this Society, though based on unsound principles, as springing from benevolent feelings, and as the harbinger of a brighter day. It cannot be, that conscientious men, who are earnestly seeking to benefit their

oppressed fellow citizens, can long continue, at the present day, blind to the right of the slave to immediate freedom, blind to the duty of the master to give him immediate emancipation.

In November, 1833, a Convention being soon to be held to amend the Constitution of Tennessee, a meeting of citizens of Athens and its vicinity was held, at which a resolution was adopted, among others, not to support any candidate for the Convention, who would not give an assurance to use his utmost exertions, if elected, 'to abolish the existing slave law in such a manner, as to accomplish the emancipation of the slaves of this State, as speedily as may be practicable.' The committee who publish the resolutions, say 'that a considerable number of highly respectable citizens' gave their names to the resolutions.

It is scarcely necessary to say, that the Constitution of Tennessee was not amended in the manner proposed, but on the contrary, if we have been rightly informed, was made more favorable to slaveholders, by prohibiting the enfranchisement of any slave, without the owner's consent. The meeting at Athens, however, shows that just principles are spreading in Tennessee; while the amendment of the Constitution, said to have been adopted, proves that the present majority in the State, in favor of slavery, fear that they shall not long continue so, and therefore endeavor to guard against the coming danger of abolition, by a constitutional provision.

A petition to the General Assembly of Missouri for the gradual abolition of slavery, received many signatures in Boone County.

Although the advocates of abolition, in the three States just named, are evidently far from just views on the subject, yet these movements are sufficient to demonstrate, that a spirit is at work in them, which will never rest till it has purified and enlightened the great mass of society, and destroyed every vestige of the system of private despotism within their limits.

It is impossible in this report, to specify all the indications of a change of opinion rapidly approaching at the South. One, however, cannot be passed over. James G. Birney, Esq. of Kentucky, lately a distinguished supporter of the Colonization Society, has within a few months burst the iron fetters of prejudice, and come forth an uncompromising abolitionist. Since

his conversion, he has published two letters, one on Colonization, addressed to the Rev. Thornton J. Mills, Corresponding Secretary of the Kentucky Colonization Society, the other on Slavery, addressed to the Ministers and Elders of the Presbyterian Church. These letters are masterly performances, and have been widely circulated throughout the country. Mr. Birney has given the best proof of the sincerity of his opinions, by emancipating all his slaves. It is almost impossible to estimate the influence which a man, like Mr. Birney, will have upon the minds of his fellow citizens at the South.

In looking back on the past year, it is impossible to forget that our shores have been honored, by the arrival from England of two distinguished philanthropists, Charles Stuart and George Thompson. These gentlemen, who have done much to promote the abolition of slavery by Great Britain, have come to America with the benevolent design of aiding in the same work in this nation. They have already shown themselves powerful auxiliaries in the great work on which they have entered. Our country should be deeply grateful to these benevolent men, whose zeal in the cause of the oppressed has led them to forsake their homes and their country.

The success of these gentlemen has, of course, procured for them abundance of abuse from the newspapers, and some violent and contemptible efforts have been made in different places, to prevent them from being heard.

The most serious charge brought against them is, that they are foreigners; and it is urged, that foreigners ought not to interfere with our institutions. This feeble argument has been most fully answered by Mr. Thompson, in a torrent of irresistible eloquence; it need not, therefore, be discussed here at length. Christianity makes all men our neighbors and our countrymen. Men, wherever they may be, who are suffering from ignorance or oppression, are entitled to our sympathy and assistance. Our duty towards them is only limited by our means of usefulness. These gentlemen, therefore, will receive the thanks and applause of every man, who is filled with the spirit of our religion.

On the first of August last, all the slaves in the British Colonies became free. The gift of freedom, however, was by the

insanity of the British Parliament, connected with a provision which made the emancipated negroes, apprentices or semi-slaves, for a term of years—that is, required them to work for their former owners during the greater part of their time, without wages. This attempt to poison the life of liberty, by a noxious distillation from slavery, has, as might have been anticipated, rendered the operation of the measure very unsatisfactory in the islands where the new system has gone into operation. Though nothing very disastrous has as yet occurred, the slaves are discontented and unwilling to work, feeling themselves defrauded, by being made nominally free, while they are debarred from the free exercise of their powers for their own benefit.

In Antigua, the Bermudas, the Virgin Isles, St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, and Dominica, where the apprentice system was not introduced, but the slaves were made absolutely free, there is every appearance that no difficulty or disturbance will follow from immediate abolition. It is to be hoped, that the other colonies will, before it is too late, abandon the apprentice system. But if the slaves are forced to submit to it, its consequences inevitably will be dissatisfaction and exasperation among the black population, perhaps to be succeeded by rebellion and bloodshed.

The principles of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society have been so fully discussed in former reports, and other publications on the same topics have been so generally circulated, that it seems scarcely necessary again to defend them. But it may not be amiss, to examine some opinions which are now current in regard to abolitionists, not only among their enemies, but even among their friends.

It is frequently said, that abolitionists ought not to form themselves into a political party—that they should rely solely on moral influence for effecting their purposes. They are often warned, even by their well wishers, to keep themselves aloof from the arena of political contention.

Though these cautions are well meant, they seem to originate from an imperfect view of the rights and duties of citizens. When many men have a common object, one of the best means of attaining it, is to associate themselves together. When thus associated, there is, no doubt, danger, that the power acquired

by union, will be abused for selfish purposes. But this is no sufficient reason for abandoning all united efforts for obtaining any moral or political object.

A large number of persons think that slavery ought to be abolished in the District of Columbia and the Territories, and that no new State ought to be admitted into the Union, without providing against the toleration of slavery within its borders. They also think that the slave-trade between the States, ought to be abolished by Congress.

Holding these opinions of the duties of the National Government, it becomes not only their right, but their duty, to endeavor in every mode sanctioned by law and religion, to procure the action of Congress on these subjects. How is this to be done? It is answered, by diffusing information among the people, and petitioning Congress. These are, no doubt, efficacious measures. But another, equally important, is to endeavor to send to Congress, men who think rightly on these subjects, and to oppose others. If abolitionists, by exerting themselves to obtain a sound representation in Congress, should be subjected to the charge of being a political party, they ought not to be deterred from their duty, by an odious name. It seems an ill-judged course for moral and religious men to shrink from exercising their privileges as citizens at elections, because others make a bad use of these privileges; or to hesitate to unite for effecting a moral and religious purpose, merely because it is at the same time a political one.

But, while in voting for candidates to offices, in which the persons elected are likely to be called on to act on important questions in regard to slavery, it is earnestly recommended to abolitionists, to support those only in whose principles they can confide; the Managers would caution their friends against making anti-slavery opinions, the test of qualification for other offices, where similar questions cannot arise. Thus, though no representative to Congress should be supported, who is not in favor of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, it would be most unjust and absurd to refuse to support a person for a municipal office, unless he held the same opinions.

The course recommended, is the same which was pursued successfully by abolitionists in Great Britain. They never be-

came a political party, but merely by giving their support to such candidates for parliament only, as were in favor of abolishing slavery, they finally succeeded in accomplishing their object. The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories, can be effected by a similar course, if the end be pursued with steadiness, and undoubting confidence that it will be eventually gained.

Abolitionists are often charged with using language unjustifiably harsh, when they speak of holding slaves as being a sin or crime. But it should be recollected that in so doing, we are not measuring the comparative guilt of individual slave owners, but merely declaring our opinion of the abstract moral quality of their acts. Circumstances of education and prevailing custom, may make slaveholding a smaller offence in one man, than in another who sees his duty more clearly. But the act of holding a human being as property, is as clearly a violation of his rights, as to rob or murder him. Our object in using such language, is to awaken the guilty to a sense of their transgressions. Those who commit the most aggravated injustice and fraud, in withholding from other men the liberty which is their most precious birthright, in compelling them to labor, yet giving them no wages, in buying and selling their brethren,—men stamped like themselves with the image of their Creator,—ought not to be permitted to dream that they are free from guilt, merely because they treat the subjects of their oppression with comparative kindness,—because they are not engaged in the internal slave trade, because they have not separated husband from wife, and the infant from its mother in their sales, because they have never hunted a runaway slave with bloodhounds, or whipped a negro to death.

We are bound as fellow-men and fellow Christians, to present the standard of duty to southern planters in so clear a light that they cannot fail to see it. We should avoid all language intended merely to give offence and provoke irritation. But while we regard the holding of property in man an enormous crime,—to be ranked with highway robbery and piracy,—we should be false to our duty, if we allowed slaveholders to suppose that we thought otherwise.

Robbery and piracy, we know, have among some nations, under certain circumstances, not been regarded as criminal. The guilt of ignorant perpetrators of these offences, was less than it would have been, had they been more enlightened. But undoubtedly the best mode of effecting a reform in those nations, would have been to declare the aggravated character of these crimes, in earnest and pointed language.

Why is it that robbery and piracy are so rare among civilized nations? It is because the common opinion of society regards them as criminal. The greater part of men are not deterred from theft and robbery, by supposing it is for their interest to refrain from these crimes, or even by the fear of the laws, but chiefly by the feeling that they are wrong, operating in greater or less degrees on different minds, and supported and confirmed in the majority, by a knowledge of the general opinion of the community on the subject.

The same state of public sentiment can be created in regard to slavery. Thousands and tens of thousands of conscientious persons, are already beginning to look upon slaveholding in its true light, as an atrocious crime. This opinion will inevitably continue to spread and gain ground, till it has embraced the great mass of the nation. The time, indeed, is not far distant,—it is present even now,—when a person's owning a slave will be considered by vast numbers, as a serious impeachment of his moral and religious character. The number of persons who emancipate their slaves from conscientious motives, will every year increase; but long before slavery is put an end to by the gradual work of individual emancipation, it will have been abolished by the State legislatures. After this is accomplished, future generations of Americans will look back upon the present condition of our Southern States, with the same mingled emotions of pity and abhorrence, with which we are accustomed to regard the piracies of Barbary and the robberies of Arabia.

In addressing our white Southern brethren, we ought never for a moment to forget, that men are moral beings, that conscience, in by far the greater part of our race, is a powerful principle of action, to which avarice, the great support of the system of slavery, can be made to yield. It is the predominance of the moral principle which is the strong foundation of human society. A com-

munity could not exist for an instant, where every member of it was urged on by a blind love of gain, uncontrolled by any superior principle. The God who made us intended that conscience should rule in man. He has not failed in his work. Every man has a conscience, however much he may have neglected its promptings. An appeal to this principle, in a large body of men, always makes an impression. And we know, in point of fact, that the pleadings of abolitionists have already produced their appropriate effects at the South, in leading masters to emancipate their slaves.

Let us go on then in the glorious enterprise which we have undertaken. Let us not doubt for one moment, that truth, and justice, and humanity, must triumph in the conflict with selfishness, avarice, and cruelty. Though slavery has enlisted all the baser passions of our nature, let us never believe that they can overcome its higher principles, which we have summoned to our service. However discouraging our prospects may at any moment appear, let us never doubt that there is a superintending Deity who watches over our efforts. The past success of Christianity in enlightening and humanizing mankind,—in putting an end to slavery in Western Europe—in abolishing the slave-trade in the greater part of Christendom, and slavery itself throughout the colonies of the British empire, and a large part of the Christian world—the rapid progress of anti-slavery principles in America, unparalleled in the history of moral reforms—should animate and encourage us to new and greater exertions.

NEW-ENGLAND ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY IN ACCOUNT WITH JAMES C. ODIORNE, TREASURER.

Dr.

Cr.

1834.				1834.			
Jan.	To Cash paid M. Hadley, Agent,	\$	28 33	Jan. 14.	By Balance of old account,	\$	266 21
"	" " " Treasurer, for amount loaned the			Dec. 31.	" Annual Assessments,		139 00
	Society in 1833,		410 00	"	" Donations,		414 73
Dec. 31.	" " " Garrison & Knapp, for publishing			"	" Friends in England, by C. S. Esq.		322 13
	Reports, &c.		510 00	"	" Executor on Estate of J. Kenrick, deceased,		200 00
"	" " " A. Buffum, to balance account,		156 00	"	" Proceeds of Ladies' Anti-Slavery Fair,		360 00
"	" " " B. C. Bacon, for sundries,		44 25	"	" Contributions, &c.		343 67
"	" " " Rent of Society's Office, and Pub-						
	lic Halls,		266 29				
"	" " " Expenses of Office,		282 82				
"	" " " Bills for Advertisements,		35 63				
"	" " " B. C. Bacon, Agent, on account, ..		250 00				
"	" " " Incidental expenses,		41 56				
1835.							
Jan. 20.	Balance to new account,		11 86				
			<u>\$2036 74</u>				<u>\$2036 74</u>

Boston, January 20, 1835.

E. E. Settled,

JAMES C. ODIORNE, Treasurer.

Boston, January 21st, 1835.—I certify that I have examined the above account, and find the same correctly cast and properly vouched.

JOHN S. WILLIAMS, Auditor.

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND DONATIONS TO THE SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1834.

Amesbury Ladies A. S. Society	\$5,00	Amount brought up	1336,24
Bacon B. C. by a friend	15,00	Ladies in Wrentham	5,00
Black Moses	2,00	Ladies in Mr. Ide's Parish	6,00
Barry Charles C.	13,00	Ladies	1,50
Barbadoes James G.	5,00	Litchfield Ward	2,00
Blake Mr.	2,00	Lewis Joel W.	2,00
Braman Milton P.	1,00	Munroe Wm. C.	2,00
Brown Thomas	4,00	Mundrucu E. F. B.	2,00
Bullard Dexter	1,00	Nichols Job	2,00
Carlisle James	2,00	Odiorne Edward Gordon	1,00
Capron Effingham L.	2,00	Osborn Silas	16,07
Capron Wm C.	2,00	Osgood William	1,00
Cash Jonathan	5,00	Osgood Jr. William	1,00
Chamberlain H. M.	2,00	Paul Thomas	2,00
Child David L.	2,00	Pero John B.	2,00
Child Mrs.	1,50	Pitts Coffin	6,00
Colton S. H.	2,00	Pierce John B.	5,00
Colwell Angell	50	Philbrick Samuel	2,00
Cole Thomas	2,00	Phelps Abner	2,00
Col. in Haverhill & Plaistow	6,10	Phelps Mrs. A. A. by Boston Ladies	15,00
do. W. Haverhill by Rev. A. Cross	3,46	Anti-Slavery Society	2,00
Contributions	204,67	Pomeroy Rev. S. L.	1,00
Davis E. S.	2,00	Proctor Sylvester	2,00
Davis John	2,00	Putnam Jesse	1,00
Dresser Samuel	1,00	Putnam Ahira	8,58
Easton Joshua	2,00	Reading A. S. Society	1,00
Edwards Thomas	2,00	Rich Ezekiel	2,00
Ela Mr.	2,00	Rice Asaph	2,00
Elliot James	1,00	Robins Joseph	2,00
Everett Dea. Willard	2,00	Roberts Robert	2,00
Follen Prof. Charles	2,00	Rogers John	2,00
Forbes Abner	2,00	Rupp John	2,00
Foster Edward	1,16	Scarlett John E.	2,00
Foster Miranda	10	Scarborough Phillip	1,00
Foster Lucy W. and Miranda	22	Simpson Michael H.	2,00
Friends	1,25	Shore Squier	2,00
Friend by S. E. S.	10,00	Scott Robert	5,00
Friends in England by C. Stuart	322,13	Sharpe George	1,00
Friends in Medway W. Parish	32,82	Sharpe Robert D.	1,00
Franklin A. S. Society	6,33	Sharpe John W.	1,00
Gale Samuel	2,00	Sharpe Elias	1,00
Gaskin Mr.	1,00	Southwick Edward	35,00
Gilbert Increase	15,00	Stone Cloe	12
Gilbert Mrs. Increase	15,00	Stimson John	2,00
Gill Perez	2,00	S.	2,00
Goodridge Bailey	2,00	S. Mr. & Mrs.	30,00
Green Charles	2,00	Taylor John	2,00
Grew Rev. Henry	2,00	Tillson Joseph	15,00
Gregg Daniel	5,00	Tenny Samuel N.	2,00
Grosvenor Rev. C. P.	2,00	Thompson George	15,00
Hayward Wm. H.	15,00	Thompson Mrs. George	15,00
Hildreth Dr. C. T.	15,00	Walton Amos	1,00
Hilton John T.	2,00	Wells Rev. E. M. P.	1,00
Hewes Frederick	2,00	Willson Harvey	2,00
Hollis Thomas	2,00	Withington Increase S.	5,00
Holmes Heman	2,00	Williams John S.	2,00
Kenrick John	200,00	Windham A. S. Society	5,75
King John G.	2,00	Wheeler Phineas	15,00
Lackey Albert	3,00	Wyman Rufus	10,00
Ladies Anti-Slavery Fair	360,00	Yates James D.	2,00
Ladies A. S. Soc. in Reading	10,00		
	\$1336,24	Total	\$1615,26

LIFE MEMBERS OF THE MASSCHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

JOHN KENRICK,* Newton, Mass.
 PRINCE FARMER, Salem, Mass.
 JOHN REMOND, do.
 CHARLES STUART, England.
 GEORGE THOMPSON, do.
 EDWARD S. ABDY, do.
 SAMUEL E. SEWALL, Boston.
 DANIEL GREGG, do.
 CHARLES C. BARRY, do.
 ELLIS GRAY LORING, do.
 JAMES C. ODIORNE, do.
 ISAAC KNAPP, do.
 WM. H. HAYWARD, do.
 INCREASE GILBERT, do.
 Rev. E. M. P. WELLS, do.
 WM. LLOYD GARRISON, do.
 BENJAMIN C. BACON, do.
 Rev. HENRY JONES, Cabot, Vt.

Rev. D. T. KIMBALL, Ipswich, Mass.
 Dr. INGALLS KITTRIDGE, Beverly.
 Dr. CHARLES T. HILDRETH, Boston.
 SILAS OSBORN.
 WILLIAM OAKES, Ipswich, Mass.
 EBENEZER DOLE, Hallowell, Me.
 JOHN TAYLOR, Bath, Me.
 EDWARD SOUTHWICK, Danvers.
 JOSEPH TILLSON, Boston.
 PHINEAS WHEELER.
 Mrs. GEORGE THOMPSON, England.
 Mrs. CALVIN PHILLEO.
 Mrs. AMOS A. PHELPS, Boston.
 Mrs. INCREASE GILBERT, Boston.
 Mrs. S. H. WINSLOW, Portland, Me.
 Mrs. C. WINSLOW, do.
 Miss SUSAN PAUL, Boston.
 A FRIEND AND HIS WIFE.

* Deceased.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, New-York.
 WILLIAM RAWLE, Philadelphia.
 Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, Brooklyn, Ct.
 Rev. S. S. JOCELYN, New-Haven, Ct.
 Rev. GEORGE BOURNE, New-York.
 Hon. SAMUEL CRAFTS, Craftsbury, Vt.
 Hon. A. CLARK, Danville, Vt.
 Rev. WM. A. CHAPIN, Craftsbury, Vt.
 HAZEN MERRILL, Esq. Peacham, Vt.
 MOSES BROWN, Providence, R. I.
 Rev. ORSON S. MURRAY, Orwell, Vt.

JOHN RIDGWAY, Staffordshire, Eng.
 WILLIAM RIDGWAY, do.
 JOSIAH WEDGEWOOD, do.
 Capt. CHARLES STUART, England.
 JOSEPH PHILLIPS, do.
 WM. WILBERFORCE,* do.
 THOMAS CLARKSON, do.
 HENRY NEWMAN, do.
 WM. CRAWFORD, do.
 EDWARD S. ABDY, do.
 GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. do.

* Deceased.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

PREAMBLE.

Whereas, we believe that Slavery is contrary to the precepts of Christianity, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and ought immediately to be abolished; and whereas, we believe that the citizens of New-England not only have the right to protest against it, but are under the highest obligation to seek its removal by a moral influence; and whereas, we believe that the free people of color are unrighteously oppressed, and stand in need of our sympathy and benevolent co-operation; therefore, recognizing the inspired declaration that God 'hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth,' and in obedience to our Saviour's golden rule, 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;' we agree to form ourselves into a Society, and to be governed by the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE 1. This Society shall be called the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, and shall be auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

ART. 2. The objects of the Society shall be, to endeavor by all means sanctioned by law, humanity, and religion, to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States; to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and obtain for them equal civil and political rights and privileges with the whites.

ART. 3. Any person by signing the Constitution, and paying to the Treasurer fifteen dollars as a life subscription, or one dollar annually, shall be considered a member of the Society, and entitled to a copy of all its official publications.

ART. 4. The officers of the Society shall be a President, Vice Presidents, a Corresponding Secretary, a Recording Secretary, a Treasurer, an Auditor, and ten Counselors, who shall be elected annually, by ballot, on the fourth Wednesday of January, or subsequently by adjournment, and shall hold their respective offices until others are chosen.

ART. 5. The foregoing officers shall constitute a Board of Managers, to whom shall be entrusted the disposition of the funds, and the management of the concerns of the Society. They shall have power to make their own by-laws, to fill any vacancy which may occur in their Board, and to employ agents to promote the objects of the Society.

ART. 6. There shall be a public meeting of the Society annually, on the fourth Wednesday of January, at which the Board of Managers shall make a Report of their doings for the past year, and of the income, expenditures, and funds of the Society.

ART. 7. The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, or in his absence one of the Vice Presidents, or in their absence a President pro tem.

ART. 8. The Corresponding Secretary shall receive and keep all communications or publications directed to the Society, and transmit those issued by them, and shall correspond with the agents, or any other bodies or individuals, according to the directions of the Society or the Managers.

ART. 9. The Recording Secretary shall notify all meetings of the Society and of the Board of Managers, and keep the records of the same.

ART. 10. The Treasurer shall collect the subscriptions and donations to the Society, hold all its funds, and make payments according to the directions of the Managers; he shall keep a true account of the same, and render a statement to accompany the Annual Report of the Society.

ART. 11. Any Anti-Slavery Society, or any association founded on kindred principles, may become auxiliary to this Society, by contributing to its funds, and may communicate with us by letter or delegation.

ART. 12. The Society shall hold meetings on the last Monday of March, June, and September, for the transaction of any business which may be presented by the Board of Managers, or for addresses, or for discussion of any subject connected with the objects of the Society. Special meetings may be called by the Board of Managers, or by the Recording Secretary on application from ten members of the Society.

ART. 13. This Constitution may be altered at the Annual Meeting for the choice of officers, provided the amendments proposed to be made, have been submitted to the Board of Managers in writing, previously.